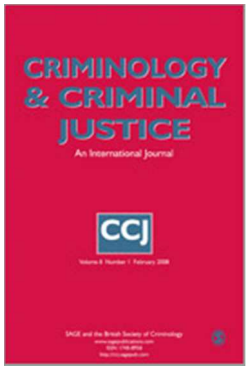

The non-existence of 'Scotland'; Social disorganization, race and the policing of anti-social behavior in Glasgow.

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Abstract:	Since it was first advanced by Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay (1969), Social Disorganization Theory (SDT)- which claims that neighborhood ecological conditions shape crime rates over and above the characteristics of individual residents- has enjoyed its ebbs and flows, first being discredited for its substantive and methodological deficiencies (Bursik and Gramsick, 1993; Sampson and Groves, 1989), but also enjoying a revival in the seminal works of Kornhauser (1978), Sampson (1986) and Bursik (1988). Although the social disorganization literature has grown tremendously since the appearance of these works, there hasn't been a concomitant surge in 'grounded research'; that is, research which examines the model's relevance to contemporary social conditions, especially in the UK. This paper, then, is an attempt to 'practice'- rather than theorize- the key tenets of SDT: Based on a case study of the A8 immigration of Slovakian Roma community into Govanhill- a neighborhood in South East Glasgow- the paper elucidates the hitherto neglected interplay of the extraneous factors that shape the policing needs of a neighborhood experiencing sudden changes in demographics. Along the way, the notion of Scotland as post-racial is deconstructed.

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Abstract

Since it was first advanced by Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay (1969), *Social Disorganization Theory* (SDT)- which claims that neighbourhood ecological conditions shape crime rates over and above the characteristics of individual residents- has enjoyed its ebbs and flows, first being discredited for its substantive and methodological deficiencies (Bursik and Gramsick, 1993; Sampson and Groves, 1989), but also enjoying a revival in the seminal works of Kornhauser (1978), Sampson (1986) and Bursik (1988). Although the social disorganization literature has grown tremendously since the appearance of these works, there hasn't been a concomitant surge in 'grounded research'; that is, research which examines the model's relevance to contemporary social conditions, especially in the UK. This paper, then, is an attempt to 'practice'- rather than theorize- the key tenets of SDT: Based on a case study of the A8[i] immigration of Slovakian Roma community into Govanhill- a neighbourhood in South East Glasgow- the paper elucidates the hitherto neglected interplay of the extraneous factors that shape the policing needs of a neighbourhood experiencing sudden changes in demographics. Along the way, the notion of Scotland as post-racial is deconstructed.

Introduction: Social disorganization and Neighbourhood effects on crime

Like most neighbourhood impacts theories, *Social Disorganization Theory* (SDT) focuses on the effects of 'kinds of places'— specifically, different types of neighbourhoods—in creating conditions favourable or unfavourable to crime and delinquency (Kornhauser, 1978; Stark, 1987; Bursik, 1988). Of importance to the SDT is the inability of a community to realize common goals and solve chronic problems, as a result of poverty, residential mobility, ethnic heterogeneity, and/or weak social networks, which are hypothesized to decrease a

neighbourhood's capacity to control/regulate public space (Stark, 1987; Bursik, 1988). Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay (1969), who first advanced the theory, noted how, apropos of criminality in Chicago, high delinquency rates persisted in certain neighbourhoods for extended periods of time despite changes in the racial and ethnic composition of the neighbourhoods. The conclusion they drew, which was subsequently disparaged both for its homology of 'ethnic groups' and its lack of methodological rigour (Bursik, 1988), was that neighbourhood ecological conditions shape crime rates over and above the characteristics of individual residents.

After widespread critique, SDT underwent a period of neglect only to be revived, among others, in the works of Sampson and Groves (1989) and Bursik and Gramsick (1993). The key contributions of this revival was the incorporation (and emphasis) of a 'systemic model' for gauging the key causal processes in 'place'- as opposed to 'people'- effects: That is to say, this resuscitated SDT acknowledged and sought to engage with the very complex, but important, chain of cause and effect among intra-neighbourhood and extra-neighbourhood factors (see, for example, Bursik and Gramsick 1993:39). There are still areas of controversy, such as the exact chain of 'cause and effect' among structural (exogenous) conditions and neighbourhood crime: What, for example, is the exact interplay between place and 'cultural' factors, such as informal control, social ties, social capital, and collective efficacy? To his credit, Bursik (1989; 2005) has tried to engage with these hard questions, incorporating typologies that summarise the key findings from cross-cultural research, mainly from the UK and the US.

Even then, there has been little engagement with the exact links between 'place' and other important factors such as 'neighbourhood culture', 'formal social control', and the 'urban political economy', especially from the perspective recent immigration-related changes urban European demographics. This, then, is the contribution of this research: Rather than 'throw

out the baby with the bath water', we seek, as carefully as possible, to filter out the dirty water (areas of conceptual and methodological difficulty) so that we can preserve and apply the baby of SDT genius to conditions of rapid social change. Our motivation is to fill sociological conceptual gaps that emerge with the on-going eastward enlargement of the EU (in 2004, 2007, 2011 and 2014), which also continue to challenge established thinking on the policing of migration-related social problems.

Methodology

This paper is partly informed by two sweeps of ethnography, conducted 5 years apart, in Govanhill. Govanhill is a neighbourhood in the Southside of Glasgow, which became prominent following a spate of publicised crime and antisocial behaviour, which earned it the moniker of 'Govanhell' (which we shall explore below). Govanhill has always been a popular settlement area for people coming to Glasgow and Scotland (Poole and Adamson, 2008; *Confederation of Scottish Local Authorities* (COSLA), 2008; *Glasgow Community Planning Partnerships* (GCPP), 2007). Migration history in Govanhill goes back to early waves of settlers from the highlands and lowlands of Scotland, Ireland, Jewish people fleeing persecution in Eastern Europe, people from the Punjab and other parts of the Indian sub-continent and, more recently, A8 immigrants (mostly from Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Romania). This diversity is reflected in the local shops, the languages spoken in the street and in the people found locally. A recent social survey found that 53 languages were spoken in only 13 of the area's housing blocks (Blake-Stevenson Research, 2007; Poole and Adamson, 2008). The area has long been Scotland's most culturally diverse neighbourhood: Of the approximately 15,000 people living in the neighbourhood, approximately 40% are from ethnic minority communities. Due to housing density, increases in population through immigration, overcrowding and high levels of occupancy, the south west of Govanhill is one of the most densely populated areas in Scotland. As a result, there

have been publicised community tensions related to strains on local infrastructure and the environment. Govanhill has been recognized in repeat surveys of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivations (SMID) as a poor area. The 2014 SIMD report shows, for example that;

- 4 of the 12 data zones making up Govanhill are within the bottom 15% of data zones in Scotland. One of these data zones occupies the bottom 5% of data zones in Scotland
- 3,796 (25.6%) of the adult population is described as 'income deprived', whilst 2,300 (22.5%) of those of employment age are 'employment deprived'.
- 38.2% of adults do not have any qualifications.
- Life expectancy is four years lower than Scotland's average
- Instances of violent crime are 159% above the Scottish average with domestic abuse incidents and drug offences 45% and 73% above.

What the above also shows is that Govanhill exhibits 'neighbourhood' effects (or area effects) (Bursik, 1993; 2005) across several key spheres such as levels of educational investment (and attainment), health outcomes, and also crime and anti-social behaviour[ii]. This concentrated, and largely negative, effect is also a feature of most disadvantaged areas around the world, but specifically Glasgow in Scotland (de Lima, 2005; Poole and Adamson, 2008; Blake Stevenson research, 2007). The specific contribution of social disorganization theory here is its insight into the interpretation of area effects: Although the extent to which an area can affect people's life chances and social and economic outcomes is contested- with recent research (for example, Bursik, 2005) bemoaning homologous construction of the 'victims' of area effects- it is still possible to extrapolate the impacts of local deprivation on daily choices, including the choices residents have when it comes to how they interact with their neighbours, institutions and local problems. That is to say, although separating out and identifying area effects is conceptually and methodologically problematic, it should be

possible to at least highlight direct and indirect effects on crime that arise from the characteristics of a place.

The respondents for the research were drawn from (the then) *Strathclyde Police Services*, *Govanhill Community Integration Services*, *Glasgow Community and Safety Services* and members of the local community, including young people who self-identified as Roma, Asian and White, drawn from the *Govanhill Youth Project*. The first wave of research (between September 2008 and December 2009) involved a total of 60 interviews (including *Focus Group Discussions* (FGDs)) with young people, youth workers, and police personnel of different ranks, community safety Officers and the management of local Housing Associations. This scoping phase, funded by *The Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR),* culminated in the publication of a monograph, which would be the basis of the second sweep in 2014. The responses to the monograph led the researchers to seek and re-interview the same respondents 5 years later in the summer of 2014. In the second phase we aimed to compare and contrast the changing depictions of Govanhill's Roma by the local media with the 'reality on the ground'; that is, we sought to seek how the neighbourhood 'mood' had changed in line with physical regeneration or deterioration of the neighbourhood: Had the respondents moved out of Govanhill? What prompted this move? Where did they go? Had there been investment in social facilities? Had this changed the plight of young people or how they viewed Govanhill? Was the community now presented in so-called 'community working groups'? Did Govanhill see a replication of 'self-policing ghettoes' (which the media had warned about)? And, more importantly, what could this microcosm teach us about race relations in Scotland?

As such, the main objective of the research was to engage individuals within their 'micro-publics' (Kubrin and Charis, 2000: 12; Hopkins, 2007); those social spaces that shape

experiences, attitudes, behaviours and individual biographies. Our primary aim was therefore to ensure that the research was fully embedded within the socioeconomic contexts within which the Roma community had settled into. As a consequence, all the opinions included in the article are those from people who have lived or worked in Govanhill for an extended period of time, including those who subsequently moved out of the area in the intervening 5 years. This research also relied on observations carried in local clubs, mentoring projects, detached work schemes and on the streets of the estates in which young people were engaged. The primary frame of analysis was the Grounded Theory Methodology (Charmaz, 2006) whose primary strength is in allowing the researcher to approach social phenomena without preconceptions treating 'everything' as data. Let us begin with a little context.

A8 and 'the non-existence of Scotland'

In 2004 the European Union (EU) enlarged eastward, bringing under its ambit 8 new East and Central European (ECE) countries (The Czech Republic; Estonia; Hungary; Latvia; Lithuania; Poland; Slovakia; and Slovenia) in an arrangement popularly referred to as A8. Majority of A8 immigrants to Scotland were Polish and Slovakian (Poole, 2010; Poole and Adamson, 2008; Blake Stevenson Research, 2007). For Scotland, the feature of the A8 that has received the most attention was the relocation of the Slovakian Roma community into Govanhill. Three prominent hypotheses dominated this interest: First, there were anecdotal references to a toxic mixture of Govanhill's destitution and so-called 'Roma mistrust of authority'. This notion of mistrust was based on case studies of Roma migration (for example, Poole and Adamson, 2008; Adamova et al.2007) which highlighted Scotland's fear that historical Roma marginalization would replicate 'self-policing ghettoes' allegedly common in Central and Eastern Europe. The notion was extended in media commentary- for example, The Herald (2007; 2008), The Daily Record (2011) and The Evening Times (2011)- where post-A8 Govanhill depicted as 'Govanhell'- a slum haven of crime and antisocial

behaviour in which different groups of young people were involved in 'twenty-first century race wars'.[iii]

Secondly, there was anecdotal linkage of A8 immigration with unique patterns of criminality in Govanhill. This uniqueness was also alleged to have overwhelmed the capacity of the local policing partnership agencies. Here, media anecdotes included Romani littering on the streets, rummaging through the bins, 'fly-tipping', overcrowding, street fights and prostitution- sometimes alleged to involve children as young as 12 years old (see for example, The Daily Record, 2007; The Herald, 2007; 2008). There were also claims that the local partnership policing apparatus was confronted with the insurmountable difficulty of gaining the access and trust of Roma immigrants.

To illustrate the point, recent research has shown that a significant number of Slovakian Roma who relocated to Scotland under the A8 settled in Govanhill. It is estimated that more than 3000 Roma moved into the area between 2004 and 2007 (see for example, COSLA, 2008; GCPP, 2007). However, data from the Workers' Registration Scheme (WRS) (2009) indicate that only less than 1000 Roma entered Scotland, and that the majority of A8 migrants were ethnic majority Slovaks, Poles and Czechs (see also, Blake Stevenson Research, 2007). Poole and Adamson (2008) attribute this discrepancy to the fact that the majority of the Roma immigrants under A8 could not meet the stringent criteria of the WRS, and may therefore not have registered with the scheme. This could have happened for example through a lack of appropriate documentation to prove one's residence and employment history[iv]. In addition to WRS conditionalities obstacle, inaccurate statistics also relate to what has been referred to 'Roma transience'; that is, the frequent change of residence and employment by members of the community (Adamova et al. 2007; Poole and Adamson, 2008; Barany, 2000).

In addition, the entry of CEE Roma into Govanhill rekindled existing debate on Scotland's multiculturalism. Previous research had identified how Scotland's national ideology of a 'welcoming country' occludes important discussion of the problems of diversity (see for example, Ditton et al. 1999; Reid-Howe Associates, 2002; Arshad, 2003): Under this ideology, despite ethnic minorities being under-represented in public institutions (even where minorities are highly skilled[v]), official discourse continues to invoke the absence of highly-publicised incidences of racist attacks (compared, say, to England and wales) as *prima facie* evidence of Scotland's vibrant multiculturalism. As de Lima (2005) observes, absence of publicised incidences of racism not only mask Scotland's wide and structural discrimination of ethnic minorities, it also ontologizes the imaginary of a post-racial 'welcoming' country which needs to do little on the diversity front (see also, Lewis, 2006; Arshad, 2003; Clarke and Campbell, 2000).

Against this background, post-A8 studies have indicated that Scotland is characterized by anti-immigrant sentiments especially in deprived neighbourhoods of Glasgow and Edinburgh (Blake Stevenson Research, 2007; Frondigoun et al, 2007). (In fact, resentment of immigration into Scotland is a long-running theme in research: Clarke and Campbell's (2000) 'gypsy invasion', to take one example, catalogues how an exclusionary mentality is part of Scotland's receipt of immigrants.) Taken together, the implication of this is that, although Scotland has been promoted as 'the place to live and work' by a number of high profile campaigns and initiatives- for example the '*Fresh Talent scheme*[vi] and '*One Scotland, Many Cultures*'[vii] campaigns- surveys of public attitudes highlight persistent negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities, asylum seekers and refugees (see also, Bromley et al. 2007; Barr and Beatty, 2003; Lewis, 2006).

Govanhell; Govanhill's 'area effects'

For Govanhill, as we can see above, homologous constructions of the area as 'Govanhell' or 'Ground Zero' have missed precisely the relationship various local dynamics have on how local life is experienced by the community. As such various studies, and particularly local development reports, have emphasized 'population'- rather than 'area'- effects. There has been a specific focus on the socialization/integration processes in Govanhill, with apparent assumptions that poor socialization, rather than the deprivation, is the primary problem to be cured. This has implication for local policy: A perspective of 'fly tipping' as the result of 'bad people', to take a loose example, misses the impact of scant recycling and waste disposal investment in an area experiencing sudden increase in the number of local residents. Similarly, a view of unsupervised children as the product of 'self-isolation' misses the point of population congestion on education, health and recreation facilities. Although these appear to be obvious observations, most local development report reviews of Govanhill (e.g. Glasgow Centre for Population Health (GCPH), 2008; GCPP, 2007, 2009) miss or underplay the important facts about the area, specifically the relatively short residence history of most of members of the local community together with the constraining forms of social capital and restricted social networks under the Home Office's and EU's Accession conditionalities.

The result of this 'population' based perspective has been the stigmatisation of local residents through the poor reputation of Govanhill: Media anecdotes, which to an extent inform local development policy, illustrate the presence of the Roma in Govanhill with the imagery of drugs and prostitution which are 'dealt in the streets from mid-morning to midnight' (Herald, 2007), littering, drunkenness, and anti-social behaviour especially by unsupervised Roma children (Evening Times, 2011). Samples of post-A8 articles reveal this shift from Govanhill's deprivation to its infestation with the Roma (Govanhell):

In 2008, The Evening Times 'revealed' to its readers that;

> The latest wave of immigrants to arrive in Govanhill is Roma people seeking a new life in Scotland... in the past four years the population of the two-square mile area has swelled from 10,000 to 14,000. Estimates say there are between 3,000 and 4,000 new Roma arrivals living in just three or four streets in the heart of the community. This has put pressure on housing and infrastructure and led to tensions in the area. Locals blame the new residents for fly tipping, a rise in crime and anti-social behaviour... In one Victoria Road property there are believed to be more than 20 Roma crammed into a two-bedroom flat. (The Evening Times, 2008).

We hear many years later that:

> Slum housing in Govanhill has led to the area becoming a "breeding ground" for crime, exploitation, poor health and education and cockroaches... It is this problem which creates the severe dangers to public health, fire risks, anti-social behaviour and race-related conflicts (Evening Times, 7th October 2011).

Neighbourhood social disorganization theorists, for example (Bursik et al, 1982), have linked crime and anti-social behaviour to features of the built environment; high levels of environmental pollution; poor-quality and/or absent social services; physical isolation of a neighbourhood and so on. The basic claim is that it is these 'place effects' that toxically combine with 'indirect effects' (such as criminal behaviour and social disorder) in constraining the capacity of local resident's to deal with anti-social behaviour as it develops. As Shaw and McKay (1969) argued long time ago- controversially, perhaps- crime is a product of living in the 'zone in transition', and with it, the facility for cultural transmission[viii]. That is to say, although the transmission of crime may lie in the social environment, it is the place itself that is criminogenic. In that sense, because crime is a consequence of place rather than of individuals (or their immediate networks), when people

move out of high crime areas, criminality is left behind[ix]. There is a rich vein of UK research on the matter: Bellair (1997) and Sampson et al. (1999) have drawn attention to how 'place effects' exploit individual dynamics- for example family crime history, life chances and outcomes- to weaken the efficacy of collective responses to crime and anti-social behaviour. What does that mean for 'Govanhell'? It means that, this conceptualisation of Govanhill, is both right and wrong: It is wrong in putting the focus on the 'entry' of foreigners into Govanhill, to the extent that this occludes how 'area' effects contribute to antecedent and subsequent disorganization apropos of this entry. It is right in highlighting how, as a deprived area; it is this unplanned entry, this failure to factor-in important considerations when it comes to reception of migrants, which escalates the deprivation- how?

Common efficacy and anti-social behaviour in Govanhill

Sampson (1986) hypothesised that collective efficacy, defined as social cohesion among neighbours combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good, is linked to reduced violence. According to Sampson, the willingness of neighbours to intervene on behalf of the common good is a marker of neighbourhood cohesion; take this cohesion away and no one will bother about the good or bad behaviour when it is exhibited in common areas. Apropos of Sampson, multilevel analyses around the world have shown that although collective efficacy varies widely across communities, it is always a strong indicator of the level of crime and anti-social behaviour. Research in the UK by Chakraborti et al. (2007) and Chahal (2000) has also confirmed that neighbourhood offending is not only an aspect of social segregation, but that such segregation emerges from intended and unintended consequences of policy decisions. Here, decisions on the distribution of social amenities, mostly housing, are the key factors. The point not to be missed is that distribution of social

amenities is a reflection of moral judgements about populations, which oftentimes results in concentration of both socio-economic disadvantage and crime.

Govanhill is no exception: As we have argued above, local policy-making has largely been informed by a homologized account of historical Roma marginalization and 'uniqueness'.[x] But, whereas this reading of 'uniqueness' has been informed by their 'self-isolation', it has failed to take important lessons from research which as contextualised this isolation. Research accounts have shown how, as a result of historical marginalization, the Roma have learned to be 'inward-looking' and self-reliant, viewing with suspicion all forms of authority. Historical Roma discrimination in CEE may be summarised thus:

- Relegation into self-policing 'ghettos' with inadequate social amenities in Slovakia (Poole, 2010; Barany, 2000; Erjavec, 2001);
- Forced assimilation- culminating in the near extermination of the Roma culture and population in the former Czechoslovakia (Poole, 2010);
- Sterilization of Roma women and/or transfer of custody of their children into the care of non-Roma families or 'special schools', with such children sometimes being labelled as 'mentally retarded' in Czechoslovakia, Hungry and Romania (Poole, 2010; Barany, 2000; Pucket, 2001).
- Discriminatory criteria for welfare access based on data collected by the state without Roma knowledge or consent in most CEE countries (Poole, 2010);
- Enforcement of social gulags for the Roma through urban planning in which the Roma were prevented from leaving their 'zones' (of under-privilege) through the use of 'location-specific residence permits' in Slovenia and the former Czechoslovakia (Poole, 2010).[1]

[1] As an example, in 2007 the European Court of Human Rights ruled that it was illegal to systematically segregate Roma children into 'special schools'.

To be fair these points are contested by other research which shows that the detrimental impact of socialist state policies were not limited to the Roma alone, but were felt across the spectrum of all who fell afoul of socialist regimes. Nonetheless, there is no evidence that 10 years into A8, Scottish local authority have grasped neither the significance of this extended marginalization to Romani outlook nor to the depth of investment in facilities- for example to cater for large families- which are required to balance things. The assumption has been that the Roma, like other waves of A8 immigrants, will 'go back home' when opportunities are scarce, or that they will prosper and relocate to upmarket parts of Glasgow. This hasn't happened.

Against this background, Govanhill's Community regeneration initiatives- driven by the *Registered Social Landlords* (RSLs) and the private sector- have emphasized so-called building of links between 'mainstream cultures' and Roma as the antidote to Roma 'self-exclusion'[xi]. A review of these reports reveals their 'population effects' emphasis on, for example, on so-called 'community integration' which is being pursued through aggressive 'de-Romanization'; Roma pamphlets reminding locals that littering or loud music is not tolerated in Scotland and so forth. This 'population effects' perspective is based not only on assumption of 'unique' Roma culture, but also on little emphasis on the unsuitability of local housing to large families. The idea in these development plans is that it is 'unique' culture- not Govanhill's destitution- that needs to be fixed. As a Community Safety Warden pointed out in an interview, underlying Roma uniqueness is the fact that 'they won't put their culture down':

> We used to have members of the resident's groups saying ''I don't know any Slovakian people; could someone give me a few phrases to say 'hello', or, 'how are you this morning'; they wanted to know these phrases so they could communicate, you know. And then it was, after a few weeks, they started asking, 'and how do you

> say ''stop doing that'', in Slovakian?' So this showed that there was no reciprocal effort from the other end and the effort died a natural death. (Community Safety Warden).

This is also echoed by the opinion of a police officer:

> The problems of integration in Govanhill can be collapsed into one sentence: the presence in the area, on the one hand, of a group of people who are coming from a situation where they are almost living in ghettos (with no sanitation, no running water) which are self-policing, and on the other hand, a policing partnership which finds itself under immense pressure to deliver on arrests, cautions or police presence on every street. (Community Police Officer).

What should not be missed in such opinions is the assumed dichotomy between the Roma and the 'local community'- or 'the people'- who were variously depicted in the interviews as 'frustrated' or 'at breaking point'. This frustration was mostly linked to Romani 'reluctance to engage'. Focus group discussions (FGDs) with Asian and White young people included references to the police 'following us everywhere' to make sure that Roma young people were not antagonized. A repeated theme of interviews and FGDs was how the have 'no time' for the 'indigenous' groups, while they are busy 'looking out for gypsies to befriend'[xii].

The following sample statements should suffice as indicators of local collective efficacy:

The first is the view of a manager of a local housing association:

> Everybody is going around thinking if these people are, for example, living ten or twenty of them in one tenement building and say they are working in a potato factory and you are trying to sleep only to be woken up by the twenty or thirty of them running down the stairways at 4 am to go to the farms etc.… For them to go out and play music they will need to go to a corner, but back in Slovakia they do it in teams or large groups. (Housing Association manager).

In the second opinion a Community Safety Manager shares the predicament of living in Govanhill:

> Now imagine that there are people who are waking up to go to work in the morning or have children going to school in the morning that is awful because it is the kind of noise that is intolerable; this is the unique feature of this group because there is no other group of immigrant that has had such a divergence with the local culture. I mean, if you have to get up three times before 7 AM how can you live with that? (Community Safety manager).

What the above illustrates is not only the interconnections between reduced collective efficacy and anti-social behaviour, but also the links between risk-of-offending and neighbourhood social disorganization. SDT proponents such as Bursik (1988) and Guest (2000) have argued that risk and prediction studies of offending have given little if any attention to the significance of neighbourhood influences and context over time. There is neglect, they observe, of the ways in which the characteristics of the neighbourhoods in which young people live play a role in influencing aspects of their inclination to crime and anti-social behaviour. At a very basic level, overall delinquency thrives within areas of structural adversity and economic deprivation. A good example is McAra and McVie's (2005) Edinburgh study which showed how those young people living in deprived neighbourhoods were less likely to desist from offending than those living in more affluent neighbourhoods, when other factors are controlled. Similar studies- by Reid Howe Associates (2002) in Glasgow, for example - have illustrated how youth offending is an aspect of neighbourhood social disorganization.

But what causes this disorganization? According to Bursik (1988) the dynamics of neighbourhood disorganization include frequent population turnover and a high density of young people. Sudden changes in demographics weaken informal social controls, because the

degree to which people exercise social control in their neighbourhoods is an aspect of their shared investment in the common good. Social ties and informal control have mediating effects on exogenous causes/sources of social disorganization e.g., poverty, residential instability, ethnic heterogeneity and by extension help to lessen the likelihood of neighbourhood antisocial behaviour and crime. Examples of informal control include residents' efforts to prevent or sanction disorderly and criminal conduct through informal surveillance of the streets and direct intervention in problems, such as questioning persons about suspicious activity, admonishing individuals who are misbehaving, and informing parents about their children's misconduct. As Bursik (1988:527) writes:

> The 'breadth and strength of local networks directly affect the effectiveness" of "community social control."

Isn't this what the opinions above also demand? Indeed, as one of the respondents quipped,

> We need people to wake up and realise that not everything here needs the law, sometime people have to chap doors and say, 'hi my name is Cathy' or whatever and 'can you stop shouting too loudly Marias or whatever, you know?' (Housing Association manager).

Formal Control and local social capital in Govanhill

On top of informal control the other important contribution of SDT is its reading of the neighbourhood impact of formal control. Govanhill, for example, exhibits reduced formal control. The policing of local young, for example, has been characterised by the notion of the police being 'softly, softly' on Roma migrants; there is a perception among Asian and White young people that disproportionate policing is a part of a deliberate scheme by the police to endear themselves to Roma young people. This perception- and not necessarily the reality- is what matters. Presently, it is detrimental to the policing needs of these young people,

precisely because it lends weight to the far-fetched notion of a besieged 'indigenous' majority. Hear:

> Polis are like 'prove that you are racists and we are here to get you'…The police aren't interested in talking to indigenous young people… because they have already made up their mind that they don't need them' (Youth Worker).

As (Glasgow city council) Community Safety Wardens told the researchers, their own contact with one group was not only viewed as an affront to the interests of the other groups, but was also reinforced in the contacts that members of the community made with each other. This is how a Community Safety Manager explained things:

> When all BME populations come into an area then all the agencies are careful; they don't want to be seen as racist or any of that kind of thing. But this group has been here for more than three years and very little in the way of enforcement is being seen taking place, just because the enforcement agencies have been used to seeing all the new groups come in and so it was always like 'softly softly, you know, let's try to befriend and try to talk'.

What SDT can help us learn here is the importance of both formal and informal controls as a form of local social capital- especially when developing strategies to counter anti-social behaviour and crime. Although it has been defined in various ways, social capital generally refers to 'intangible resources produced in relations among persons that facilitate action' for mutual benefit (Coleman 1988: 100)[xiii]. What social capital means for Govanhill is that unless the local policing partnership framework- which brings together 13 agencies[xiv] under the Govanhill Community Hub- cultivate and maintain good informal contacts with a good cross-section of residents, their formal activities are unlikely to yield substantive and important support in the form of intelligence. It can be assumed that disenchantment with (the above) allegations of differential regard, for example

> People feel sometimes like the police treat people differently. Why is it only us being targeted? See the refugees and other Slovak groups, right, the cops won't bother them. All the youth have been in Govanhill all their lives. . This is our hood, right? We have lived here forever until the refugees came here (Asian male).

Will translate into non-cooperation (or avoidance of contact with the police);

> Maybe we would need to make a run…you can't do anything against the police because they are the law… they travel in a group maybe two maybe three and if you are stopped you are always one or they would maybe say they have never seen you…if you try to talk to them you get done for breach of peace... maybe they will book you for giving them cheek if you were to ask them why they don't do something to the other groups…they will tell you to go to your house but I don't know what the law says' (White male).

In this sense, the real contribution of SDT to understanding Govanhill's challenges is in highlighting this missing mobilization of local social capital. As Taylor (2002) also teaches us, mobilization of local resources, including information, is only an option where residents develop a willingness to take action- based, in large part, on conditions of mutual trust and solidarity among neighbours. This is the problem when it comes to police contact with young people in Govanhill: Although the problem is perceived as a police-indigenous issue, Slovakian young people are equally resentful of contact with the police:

> The police are always saying 'Go away'… and I have to go away or they take my date of birth, address and name and ask me to show my pocket. We don't have to stay in more groups than five or four people; yeah like ten people standing or more they come to us and say 'go away and be five people!' because we don't have to be more people. (Slovakian male).

This brings us to a point raised by Branford et al's. (2009) notion of 'the long process of legitimating the police': Even where police encounters with young people are of good quality this may not automatically translate into confidence in the police; where young people experience a good encounter with the police, they may either dismiss good policing experiences as exceptions to the rule, or treat good service as a given and react only to the bad. In other words, pre-existing ideas on policing determine how future police-youth encounters are interpreted, and policing policy should always start from this understanding.

Police studies have for a long time drawn attention to the subliminal craving for 'reassurance' and 'security', which Loader and Walker (2001; 11) locate 'in us as craving rather than a fact'. Against this craving Govanhill's policing approaches have to be dynamic in order to remain relevant, more so on account of the area's long history of poor police-community relations (see, Poole and Adamson, 2008; Adamova et al. 2007; Reid Howe Associates, 2007; Frondigoun et al, 2007). Apropos of this poor relation, building strong positive relations between the police and young people should not only be prioritized but also viewed as a long process of 'legitimation' requiring proper recalibration of policing methodologies.

The point here is that concentrated disadvantage not only deprives neighbourhoods of resources that may be mobilized to control crime, but also increases social isolation among residents- which further impedes communication and interferes with their capacity to pursue common values (Bursik and Webb, 1982). Govanhill confirms what Sampson (1986) argued along time ago: That, while Informal control has been privileged in studies of neighbourhood effects on crime because it tends it be community-based- and because formal control is usually understood as the practice of institutions based outside the neighbourhood- the embeddedness of formal institutions in neighbourhood partnerships make this bias for the informal untenable.

What SDT can contribute to the understanding of things in Govanhill, is showing the twin importance of formal control on neighbourhood effects. Three of its timeless observations are worth reiterating here: First, formal control directly influences crime and disorder especially by the amount and quality of police activity in a neighbourhood (Sampson and Wilson, 1995; Bursik, 1988). Secondly, disadvantaged neighbourhoods are typically the least able to secure needed police protection and services (Sampson and Cohen, 1988). Thirdly, police tend to see residents of high-crime communities as "deserving victims," whose lifestyles invite victimization; in such neighbourhoods, officers normalize residents' victimization and, hence, respond less vigorously to calls than in more affluent areas (Sampson and Groves, 1989; Sampson and Wilson, 1995). For Govanhill, we can additionally observe that (perceived) police misconduct can drive a wedge between officers (and the whole partnership framework) and residents and trump efforts to establish mutually supportive ties that might help to reduce crime. But, when all is said and done, 'the place' itself is a component of something larger and more impactful which we should consider before we conclude our 'practice' of SDT.

Govanhill's Political Economy and anti-social behaviour

It is axiomatic that the priorities and decisions of local government officials and business interests can have major effects on a neighbourhood's quality of life, especially because neighbourhoods vary in their capacity to secure valued city services. The sad feature of most SDT readings of the neighbourhood effects has been that crime has been abstracted from its political economy. As Bursik and Gramsick (1993:52) also complain, most neighbourhood effects studies focus exclusively on intra-neighbourhood influences on crime, without considering the larger urban political and economic context. This is a weakness that practices of SDT should avoid at all costs.

The policing needs of young people in Govanhill are intertwined with Govanhill's low socio-economic opportunities, mostly because young people perceive themselves to be living in a

wider socio-political environment. As FGD youth respondents pointed out, this makes it difficult for them to secure employment, or other permanent diversion from crime and anti-social behaviour. Local leaders also pointed out that criminal records are an integral part of growing up in a hard area, 'the life-sentence young people are serving while the rest of the city carries on' as the manager of local housing association termed it. Although FGD respondents wanted

> 'A job or just somewhere you can go and play pool and that... like a drop-in kind of a thing. because no one wants to employ or even talk to an ASBO queen'

there are sadly no opportunities under the employment drought that characterised the post-2008 banking crises. Deindustrialization of Glasgow following the 2008-banking crisis meant that inner-city areas such as Govanhill experienced a depletion of the number of blue-collar jobs available. As previous social disorganization studies have shown, this depletion means a concomitant growth of illegal activity, especially a drug market in the disadvantaged neighbourhood. This has an impact on the number of young people able to access the formal employment market even after the recession, owing to criminal records from arrests and other encounter with law enforcement. Indeed, without exception most of the young people I interviewed, particularly those from long-term residents, have a criminal record of one kind or another.

What this means is that, although it is beyond the police to offset the impact of economic collapse, still the issues that the local partnership deals with are linked to local economic activity. The two opinions below encapsulate the predicament of youth people in Govanhill, but also the opportunities which partnership opportunity may be missing. The first opinion indicates the diversionary role of local youth facilities, while the second one suggests the trajectory of youth activity as the facilities close.

> When Browsers (a free internet facility for young people) was on it was always full of people doing things, but they closed it because maybe the polis wanted us out here somewhere they can keep an eye on us- although I suspect the owners ran into trouble over licenses or money anyway (White female).
>
> We are just getting stoned, because there is nothing else to do. I would like to work so I get to see my wee ones and things like that... I would like to work in MacDonald's or something, or maybe a better job. (White male).

Social disorganization and reciprocal effects

A particular insight of social disorganization into this matrix is notion of 'reciprocal effects of crime on community organization' (Sampson and Groves, 1089; Sampson and Wilson, 1995): Just as neighbourhood structure influences crime, crime (including, in the case of Govanhill's youth, a criminal record) also shapes neighbourhood conditions themselves. Where you have a population with an extensive history of crime, you are likely to have a population with an extensive history of exclusion from legitimate employment, finance and so on. Crime and economic exclusion are, in this sense, mutually reinforcing. In addition, similar to such resources as good schools, access to jobs, or a clean environment, safe neighbourhoods with little crime are highly valued, and safety becomes part of the calculus in determining where people seek to live—an example of how crime may influence residential mobility.

If anecdotes are anything to go by Govanhill has recently experienced disproportionately higher rates of violent crime: In '*Govanhill declared Scotland's murder capital* The Daily Record also points out that;

> (Govanhill's) murder rate of one per 4644 people is five times higher than Glasgow's, of one per 23,255, and more than 12 times Scotland's rate…Govanhill does have

> problems that other areas in Glasgow don't suffer from… including poverty being imported to the area by new migrants (The Daily Record, 2008).

We can see form the similar media reports how this has shaped local dynamics of settlement:

> Local white people and those of Asian origin throw the most appalling slurs at the latest incomers to the area - the Roma community. The Roma people tend to stick together - isolated by language - unwittingly adding to the tension between them and their neighbours. (The Herald, 2007).

Conclusion

The tenets of social disorganization present the best opportunity to analyze intersection of crime and anti-social behavior with sudden changes in neighborhood demographics, with specific reference to the policing needs of young people in Govanhill. The main aim of this article was to move youth policing debate from the narrow purview of 'population effects' to a focus on the structural influences on anti-social behavior. This research adds to recent ethnography which has looked at other important influences on youth offending to which we must highlight Loader and Walker's (1996), Hopkins (2007) and McAra and McVie's (2005) works on 'police working rules' and their impact on intersectional positionalities. We have learned from these works that, how and what the police choose not to do (rather than just what they do) influences how young people perceive their place in the street-level power relations and how subsequent insider-outsider matrices determine patterns of offending and anti-social behavior. This research has endeavored to tell the complimentary story of what the 'place does or chooses not to do'. In that sense, the picture of Govanhill that emerges above resonates with theoretical arguments that policing involves the 'management of the symbolic arena' (Loader and Walker, 2001; Bowling, 2007); that is to say, the urban environment is a site of negotiated inclusion and exclusion (McAra and McVie, 2005; Hopkins, 2007). Good

neighborhood management, SDT teaches us, is about understanding how both the 'place', and 'people' influence such exclusion and inclusion.

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[i] Under the A8, the following Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries acceded to the European Union in 2004: The Czech Republic; Estonia; Hungary; Latvia; Lithuania; Poland; Slovakia; and Slovenia

[ii] Here, however, 'neighbourhood effects' must be read in their wider meaning: the idea that concentrated deprivation is not reducible to compositional effects (such as the characteristics of families and individuals who live in particular areas) but, rather, it is an aspect of additional area-related effects which results from concentrated disadvantage.

[iii] This construction of Govanhill did not necessarily take adequate stock of the wider context of A8 migration, which consists of two important facts that we should not lose sight of: First, A8 migrants were denied access to public funds under the EU conditionality framework until April 2011. As Poole and Adamson (2008) have correctly acknowledged, A8's conditionality framework- exemplified in the UK's signal legislation, 'no recourse to public funds', which governs welfare access- had a deleterious impact on the support and integration of A8 migrants into Scotland.

[iv] The interpretation of statistics relating to A8 migration should therefore be undertaken with caution, not only because people quickly moved to other parts of the UK- or outside the UK- based on assessments of opportunities, but also because methodologies of capturing the statistics have widely varied

[v] Two examples should suffice: First, although ethnic minority people from an African descent have overall high levels of educational attainment they are overrepresented in low-paid employment (de Lima, 2005). Secondly, Asian and Black people are overrepresented in low-quality, semi-permanent accommodation as well as having high levels of stress-related mental health incidences (de Lima, 2005; Lewis, 2007).

[vi] The fresh talent scheme was an initiative by the Scottish Government to encourage people to settle in Scotland, as a way of countering the 'biggest challenge facing Scotland' - its falling population. The key part of the initiative was to allow overseas graduates from Scottish university who expressed the intention of living and working in Scotland, to stay on for two years following graduation to seek employment.

[vii] One Scotland, Many cultures was a campaign aimed at educating young people about racism and to highlight the unacceptability of racist language and behaviour. It aimed to encourage people - especially young people - to celebrate Scotland's diversity and encourage them to speak out against bigoted and discriminatory behaviour.

[viii] Shaw and McKay conducted qualitative research to illuminate the processes involved in the transmission of delinquent values from one person to another, captured through what they defined as cultural transmission – a process whereby delinquent norms and values at odds with those of mainstream society are internalised by each new generation. This is a version of learning theory derived from Thrasher who had conducted an earlier ethnographic study of delinquent gangs. He saw the gangs as providing a viable alternative source of

integration and support for its members, qualities that were largely lacking in the wider disorganised community of criminal areas.

[ix] However, this perspective has been questioned because of its methodological approach, notably what is known as an ecological fallacy: the extent to which it might be validly claimed that individual action can be explained in terms of the neighbourhood in which one lives. The perspective has also been criticised for being tautological; for perceiving social disorganisation as both a cause of crime and an effect of crime. As with area effects research more generally, the contours of 'area effects' have been broadly blind to the economic and political factors that are central to understanding crime and other aspects of social life.

[x] From the point of view of 'Roma uniqueness', local development policy has been emphatic on so-called building of links between 'mainstream cultures' and Roma anti-social behaviour (GHA, 2009; GCPD, 2008): As an example, following allegations of local services being overwhelmed by unique Roma behaviour, local police and community safety services dispatched a 'fact-finding' team to Slovakia to 'study' Roma lifestyles.

[xi] . See for example, *Glasgow Housing Association, 2009; Glasgow Community Planning Partnership*, 2008; *Glasgow Community Planning Partnership*, 2007; *Glasgow Centre for Population Health*, 2008.

[xii] These are the words of a local Youth Leader.

[xiii] It is the resources transmitted through social ties, not the ties *per se*, that are key to facilitating social control. Such resources include obligations, information, trust, and norms.

[xiv] Govanhill Hub brings together the following 13 agencies: *Govanhill Community Planning Partnership* (GCPP); *Govanhill Housing Association (GHA); Glasgow Housing Association (GLHA); Glasgow Life; Land and Environmental Services (LES); Glasgow Community Safety Services; The Strathclyde Police (GE subdivision); Glasgow Fire and Rescue Services; Community Healthcare Partnership (CHP); Glasgow Centre for Population Health (GCPH); Glasgow South East Regeneration Agency (GSERA); Govanhill Community Development Trust (GCDT),* and*; Govanhill Law Centre (GLC).*